The History of Advertising Archives

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Chronological Notes

on the History of

Cigarette Advertising

(August 1987)

PM/TOBACCO
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by

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Authors Note: These notes, and the themes derived therefrom, are based upon:

1] a content analysis of print ads in Life and Look from 1938 to 1985 [Pollay 1987b];
2] a review of cigarette advertising in these and other media, especially Time, and including other eras;
3] a review of corporate and other documents entered as evidence before the court in (N.J.) Cipollone v Liggett Group et al., INCLUDING CONFIDENTIAL MATERIALS.
4] a review of the trade press for advertising (Printers' Ink, Advertising Age, Madison Avenue) and the grocery business (Progressive Grocer);
5] a review of publicly available archives, as shown in attached bibliography; and
6] a literature review of published sources, with all cited sources listed in the bibliography.

Most of these facts and quotes, and all themes they suggest, represent knowledge gained since conducting the content analysis. The notes on the advertising process and changing context are intended to supplement that data describing the ads themselves.

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Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/knbl0000

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Some of the themes evidenced in the chronological notes on the history of cigarette advertising.

I. Cigarette advertising as 'information'
- *1. Healthfulness commonly communicated*
- *2. Sophisticated applied psychology*
  - *i. Motivation Research*
  - *ii. Current practice*
- *3. Well researched*
  - *i. strategy development*
  - *ii. copy testing*
  - *iii. test markets*
- *4. Very well funded*
- *5. In multiple media, environmental*

II. Cigarette ads have frequently misrepresented:
- *1. testimonials*
- *2. official endorsements*
- *3. surveys, data and statistics*
- *4. filter effectiveness*
- *5. healthfulness in general*

III. Other influences on public opinion and perceptions
- *1. Public relations (Tobacco Institute, Hill & Knowlton)*
- *2. Indirect influence on commercial media content*
  - *i. editorial and entertainment*
  - *ii. magazines and newspapers*
  - *iii. radio and TV*
- *3. Advocacy advertising*
- *4. But wild cards: Reader's Digest, AMA*

IV. Other influences on public policy
- *1. Successful lobbying history*
- *2. Some influential 'friends'*
- *3. FTC - Power balanced or neutralized*
  - *i. Initiatives get equal or larger reactions*
  - *ii. Some complaints stalled for years, decades*
  - *iii. Results: typically modest and belated*
  - *iv. FTC sometimes finessed or handcuffed entirely*
- *4. But wild cards: Surgeon General, FCC (Fairness Doctrine), Supreme Court and individual members of Congress*

V. Scientific evidence, public concern ultimately forces some action
- *1. Cigarette firms make the best of a tough situation*
- *2. Stall serious action a decade until Surgeon General's report*
- *3. Accept package warning (1964), but this agreement*
  - *i. Pre-empts state and municipal actions*
  - *ii. Handcuffs FTC*
  - *iii. Excludes advertising*
  - *iv. Softens warning language*

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4. Abandon TV (1970), but after
    i. Impact of Fairness Doctrine, anti-smoking spots obvious
    ii. Supreme Court bid failed (1969)
    iii. volunteer uncharacteristically
5. Warning extends to ads, but
    i. prolonged delay in compliance
    ii. dominated by scenes and symbols
    iii. not 'clear and conspicuous,' as required
    iv. despite available technology

VI. Business (almost) as usual
1. Continued heavy promotional spending
2. Continued communication of healthfulness
    i. Negating potential impact of warnings
3. Continued use of other appeals attractive to youth
    i. Popularity appeals
    ii. Sexual identity and attractiveness appeals
4. Continued tie-in with sports, athletics
5. Continued myths
    i. medical science "controversies" about health risks
    ii. filters as significant reducer of health risks
6. Now with military-like secrecy
    i. Most activity under tight wraps since 1950s
    ii. Long after competitively important
    iii. In contrast to other consumer goods firms,
        a. No known Harvard Business School cases on cig. marketing
        b. No known use of National Advertising Review Board
        c. No known participation in creative competitions
        d. No known public archives
        e. Only one official corporate history (RJReynolds)
        f. Minimal insider publicity in trade press
        g. Minimal disclosure even to Courts
7. Now with "freedom to deceive" in advocacy advertising

VII. No Evidence of Self Restraint
1. Not because restraint impossible, witness
    i. low rate of price competition
    ii. low use of 'fear' appeals
    iii. secrecy 'boycotts' listed above [VI.6.iii]
2. Self regulation abandonment of 1960s
3a) Little or no use of available self regulatory mechanisms (NARB)
3b) No misgivings about promotional practices now admitted or apparent
    i. In contrast to concerned resignations in 1960s
    ii. Bernbach, Braren, Daniels, Foote, Ogilvy
4. Continue to appeal, especially to youth, with
    i. themes of popularity, sexual attractiveness and healthfulness
    ii. despite decades of public criticism and political pressure
    iii. despite good reason to at least suspect
        a. very serious health risks and costs
        b. borne solely by their own loyal consumers

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CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES

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1911

- Tobacco trust broken up by Federal government - creating American Tobacco, Liggett & Meyers, and P. Lorillard as autonomous firms.

1914

- First national cigarette brand and ad campaign, successfully gaining dominance over regional brands, due in part to leverage of advertising and its concentration on a single brand. N.W.Ayer helps launch CAMELS (new acid blend of Burley and Turkish, acid allows inhaling with less cough reflex [Fox,1984] with large (40") newspaper teaser campaign: "The CAMELS are Coming," and "Tomorrow, there'll be more CAMELS in this town than in all of Asia and Africa combined." Product pretested in Cleveland. Add magazines, billboards and this combination of multiple media called "humping" of the CAMELS. This simultaneous use of multiple media held important by RJReynolds. [Tilley 1985, p220ff] [Wood 1958] New York City left until last, as distributor power with 17,000 stores available once product a proven success. Ayer budget initially $250,000 [Watkins 1949] but 6 times that, or $1.5 million, spent by years end. [Parker 1966] Brand does particularly well in New York, 'Gotham.' Most distinctive single ad a two-page spread in Saturday Evening Post (12 Dec 1914), the first cigarette ad there and an unheard of extravaganza in "that paragon of virtue and circulation." [Tilley 1985, p221]

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1916

- RJReynolds creates a coordinating "advertising committee" to give "more emphasis on the fine points of advertising and on the national outlook." Advertising of this era supervised closely by R.J.Reynolds himself, and this close involvement and supervision of advertising said by company insiders to be a tradition that endured at least until 1959. [Tilley 1985, p291, 343]

1917

- LUCKY STRIKE begins with "Its Toasted" idea [Wood 1958] [NOTE: This is what's known in the trade as a 'unique selling proposition' (USP), but heat processing actually common to all cigarettes. RJReynolds tries to expose this fact in 1930 ads. Later LUCKIES claims "Everyone knows that heat purifies, and so Toasting Removes irritants." Later, they refered to 'Ultra-Violet Ray Process' as the purification agent when this was a fad. [Caples 1947]

- Rivalry between CAMELS and LUCKY STRIKE involves scandalous rumors. American Tobacco suspected, by RJReynolds, of disseminating rumors of salt petre in tobacco, and factory workers with leprosy and syphilis. Claims that agents would enter streetcars, one from the front and one from the rear, and hold a loud conversation about these, and then exit to repeat again and again. RJReynolds posts $500 reward notices. [Tilley 1985, p222-223]

1919

- Printers' Ink warns of "insidious campaign to create women smokers" referring to Lorillard's efforts for Murad, Helmar. [Fox 1984]

- WWI popularizes cigarette with soldiers, men in general, and removes the 'dandified' image [Schudson 1984]

- CAMEL has 40% market share. [Watkins 1949]

1921

- CAMELS advertised in 'newspaper and magazines ranging from the Jewish Forward to the Wall Street Journal and to most other publications with any circulation worth mentioning. - CAMEL begins "I'd walk a mile" slogan "on billboards throughout the country." [Tilley 1985, p221-3]

- cigarette passes others forms (snuff, chew, pipes, cigars) in pounds used [Christen and Glover 1987]

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1924

- MARLBORO launched as female cigarette by Philip Morris [Burnett 1958]

- CAMELS supported over last six years since WWI with promotional budgets averaging about $7 million per year. [Tilley 1985, p224 - Table 7-6]

1925

- women consuming 5% of total cigarettes [Borden 1942, p225]

- Lucky Strike done in mile high skywriting. Three majors have 82% of market. CHESTERFIELD #2, LUCKY STRIKE third with 50% of CAMELS' share. [Wood 1958]

1926

- CHESTERFIELD billboard with young woman saying "Blow Some My Way" [Howe 1984] Tremendous, anguished public outcry, but advertising agent Lasker wants same for Lucky Strike. [Wood 1958]

- at this time women smokers primarily flappers, rebellious college girls, scandalous city sophisticates. Ads legitimize to mass audience. Cigarette symbolizes, especially to women, a youthful style, sexual openness, liberation, and perhaps to immigrants, being American (Tobacco). [Schudson 1984] [Ernster 1985]

1927

- LUCKY STRIKE: First full bore campaign against women, quickly imitated. [Borden 1942] New York Metropolitan Opera stars give free testimonials (for publicity) about "Throat protection...for precious voices" [Wood 1958][Schudson 1984]

- Bernays hired by CHESTERFIELD to do public relations [PR], creating news coverage and influencing public opinion. Begins by ridiculing LUCKY STRIKES' opera star campaign. Creates "Tobacco society for Voice Culture" with letterhead slogan "So to improve the CORDS of the THROAT through cigarette smoking that the public will be able to express itself in songs of praise and more easily swallow anything" and with added aim "to establish a home for singers and actors whose voices have cracked under the strain of their cigarette testimonials." [Bernays 1965, p374]

- MARLBORO ad shows female hand. [Howe 1984] "Mild as May" slogan and copy clearly aimed at women. [Ernster 1985]

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Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/knbl0000

1928

- OLD GOLD plane, a "magic air monster" with amplifier making music and voices 100,000 times louder, making "pilot's whisper echo...roar like a Grand Central announcer at commuting time." Music: "dreamy, heavenly waltz," Sousa March, then "words boomed: THIS IS THE VOICE FROM THE SKY...SMOKE OLD GOLDS..NOT A COUGH IN A CARLOAD." Sales gain 25% - 100%, average 40%. Followed roll-out, beginning in New England, New York, North Atlantic, etc. Agency: Lennen & Mitchell. [Rheinstrom 1929] Eclipses Lucky's claim "It toasted - no throat irritation" [Wagner 1929]

- OLD GOLD on coast to coast radio with Paul Whiteman. [Lewine 1970]

- LUCKY STRIKE begins RADIO, Sept. on 39 NBC stations (inc. New York) with LUCKY STRIKE Dance Orchestra. Evolves into "Hit Parade." Hill stops all other media for test, and sales rise 47% over two months. [Fox 1984]

- LUCKY STRIKE - "Reach for a Lucky not a Sweet" using women. Began with "first woman to fly Atlantic" - big reaction from candy manufacturers, press, lots of free PR. [See Wagner 1929; Wallace 1929] Adapted, under pressure, into the more challenging "FATTENING sweet." Most famous - Constance Talmadge movie star, and Helen Hayes. Later adapted to "Reach for Lucky instead.." [Pease 1958][Fox 1984]

- OLD GOLD says "Enjoy both (cigarettes and chocolate)..Two fine and healthful treats." [Wagner 1929]

- LUCKY STRIKE copy for Talmadge ad "there's real health in LUCKY STRIKE...(they) steady the nerves ...favorites of many prominent athletes, who must keep fit, testify that Luckies do not harm their wind or physical condition [Wallace 1929]....20,679 Physicians maintain Luckies are 'less irritating'" [Wood 1958] New York AMA objects to portrayal of study as "real science" [Blum 1983] - Medical Review of Reviews sends press releases. Editor and Publisher headline "Cigarette Copy Bunk, Physicians Declare Blanket Endorsement used in Ads Unwarranted." 5,000 copies distributed to influential people by Bernays, when working for CHESTERFIELD (L&M) (Bernays 1965, p375)

- CAMEL spends $4,000 per month for exclusive billboard on Columbus Circle, New York City. [Tilley 1985, p342]

1929

- CAMELS: Time back covers: offering woman a cigarette, woman buying in fancy shop; being "well bred" at the race track (like horses) [Schudson 1984] Several ads for CAMELS feature women. Ad space bought in fiction magazines, True Story, Picture Play, Junior League Magazine, Delineator, Pictorial Review and Modern Priscilla, House and Garden, Vogue, Harper's Bazaar, Vanity Fair. [Tilley 1985,p 330, 340-341.]

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- American Tobacco, George Washington Hill, through New York retail tobacconist chain as front, hires Bernays away from L&M's CHESTERFIELD without Bernays' knowing it for 9 months [Sobel 1978]. Paid $25,000 retainer (half million today) for year of doing nearly nothing; a few phone calls asking advice on minor matters like press releases. Also employed the other major PR person, Ivy Lee, without either knowing about the other. Hill: "If I have both of you, my competitors can't get either of you." [Bernays 1965]

- Hill (LUCKY STRIKE) "became obsessed" by potential of female market. Hill: "It will be like opening a gold mine right in our front yard." [Bernays 1965, p383]

- Through Bernays, LUCKY STRIKE hires A. A. Brill, famous psychoanalyst- "cigarette are symbols of freedom...sublimation of oral eroticism" and later he advises that "the cigarette is a phallic symbol, to be offered by a man to a woman. Every normal man or woman can identify with such a message." [Bernays 1965, p386, 395]

- Bernays publicizes slim fashions, "flooding fashion editors with photos of slim Parisian models" to help promote LUCKY vs. Sweets effort. [Bernays 1965]

- Bernays, PR man, hires models to smoke in public and takes photos, writes stories, etc. organizes women smokers to march together, smoking in public, in New York Easter Parade with "torches of liberty." [Schudson 1984]

- Feb. LUCKY STRIKE uses infamous testimonial by hero of sea rescue, Captain Fried (an OLD GOLD smoker), attributing ("out of character") cool nerves, morale of crew, etc to timely use of LUCKY STRIKES. Ad men thought "blatant and cynical", attacked in trade press. [Pease 1958]

- US Senator Smoot, seeking to amend Pure Food and Drug act, in reference to cigarette and snake oil salesmen: 'not since the days when the vendor of harmful nostrums was swept from our streets, has this country witnessed such an orgy of buncombe (bunk), quackery and downright falsehood and fraud as now marks the current campaign promoted by certain cigarette manufacturers to create a vast woman and child market." [Schudson 1984]

- During 1925-1930, Ligget & Meyers advertising aimed not only "to serve and keep the loyalty of the smokers we have" but "to make new smokers and keep them." [Nicholls, William H., Price Policies in the Cigarette Industry, as quoted in Parker 1966]

- Historians: 1920s, "advertising sold the cigarette habit to the American Public - surely the industry's most regrettable achievement of the decade." [Fox 1984] The campaign of testimonials ..picturing the right kind of people ('worthy of emulation") smoking ...(to) speed up social acceptance. [Borden 19.2, p223,7]

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1930

- RJReynolds: "radio advertising became necessary." CAMELS begin with "Camel Pleasure Hour" and "All Star radio Review." [Tilley 1985, p330, 342]

- CAMELS, seeking to expose hollowness of LUCKY STRIKES' "It's Toasted" theme, runs $300,000 worth of newspaper advertising: "Turning the Light of Truth on False and Misleading Statements in Recent Cigarette Advertisements." [Tilley 1985, p333]

1931

- Big 3 have 90% of market [Borden 1942]

-Jan. FTC & American Tobacco sign stipulation about "unfair" testimonials (for non-smokers, smokers of other brands, attributed statements never seen.) Also required "conspicuous" display of fact of PAID testimonial. [Pease 1958]

- FTC stipulation also required no ads to imply smoking per se would cause slimness or weight reduction. LUCKY STRIKE campaign, once established, then adapted with pictures of thin people with fat shadows and slogan: "Coming events cast their shadows before." [Pease 1958]

- LUCKY STRIKE ad budget over $12 million per year. Profits up 100% this year, despite crash and depression onset. [Pease 1958]

- LUCKY STRIKE still thought to be planting rumors regarding disease in Reynolds' factories, while Reynolds' agents reportedly rumored that LUCKY STRIKES used dangerous chemicals. [Sobel 1978] LUCKY STRIKE rumored in New York City taxis to have leprosy among workers. Luckies promote use of "ultraviolet rays" (a new fad, ala chlorophyll) to purify, toast. [Bernays 1965]

- Better Business Bureau accuses American Tobacco of "perverting the judgement and character of the advertising industry." [Fox 1984]

- CAMELS introduces cellophane "humidor pack" with big contest, planned by Erwin Wasey. Offers $500,000 in prizes (enormous in depression) in ads "in 1,700 daily papers, 2,300 weeklies, and 400 financial newspapers and college periodicals ... The response was overwhelming... as many as 5,500 special delivery letters in one day." Total of 952,229 entries. [Tilley 1985, p335]

- November, CAMELS spend $2 million in one month alone. Also switches agencies twice in little more than a year, going from D'Arcy to Erwin Wasey this year and then to William Esty in 1932. [Tilley 1985, p336]

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1932

- Hill (LUCKY STRIKE) draws personal salary of $825,607 in depth of depression, in addition to covered expenses. [Bernays 1965]

- LUCKY STRIKE copy "Do you inhale? What's there to be afraid of?" [Brecher 1963]

1933

- PHILIP MORRIS launched at premium price ($.15 vs. $.125 competitive). Ad budget grows to $1.5 million by 1939. [Borden 1942, p233]

- CHESTERFIELD begins advertising in New York Medical Journals, usually back cover, alternate issues. Some medical ["just as pure as the water you drink"], but often romantic ads as in general media - such as the double entendre "They Satisfy."

- CAMELS mounts gigantic electric sign (75' x 45') atop a building at 49th and Broadway, New York. [Tilley 1985, p342] Times Square sign a well known landmark, later featuring special effect of blowing very large smoke rings.

1934

- blindfold tests show users can NOT distinguish own brand. [Husband and Godfrey 1934]

- Printers' Ink publishes "Theory and Facts of Cigarette Smoking" noting smoking disturbances of short breath, irritation, coughing, burning, nausea, hoarseness. [Day 1953]

- copywriters, ad executives on public: consumers buy only on whim and impulse, not reason and information. Ads should be entertainment, not informative, hence OLD GOLD cartoonist and CAMEL explaining magic tricks in comic format. [Pease 1958]

- CAMEL distributes one million copies of The Magicians Handy Book of Cigarette Tricks. This cartoon format ad campaign. "It's fun to be fooled" also serialized in the colored comics sections of newspapers. [Tilley 1985, p338]

- CAMELS renames radio show "CAMEL Caravan" featuring varied artists, Glenn Gray and the Casa Loma Orchestra, and runs throughout 1930s. [Tilley 1985, p342-43]

- Bernays works for six months to make GREEN the fashion color of the year. "MR. Hill wanted more women to smoke Luckies" but research showed green

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unpopular with women because clashed with clothing. Organizes "Green Ball" with socialites, New York Infirmary for Women, art galleries. Works with manufacturers of accessories, dresses, textiles, etc. Sends 6,500 letters and kits to dept. stores, fashion editors, interior decorators, etc. telling them of this "trend." Gets Harper's Bazaar and Vogue to feature green on covers on date of the Green Ball. [Bernays 1965; 1971] Silk company throws Green Fashion Luncheon with all green menu (ala St. Patrick's day). Sends press releases with psychologist stories suggest benefits of color green, as "color of spring, an emblem of hope, victory (over depression) and plenty." [Sobel 1978][Bernays 1965] For this "engineering of consent"..."I drew up a comprehensive blueprint, a complete procedural outline, detailing objectives, the necessary research, strategy, themes and timing of the planned activities." [Bernays 1965, p390]

1935

- 20% adult women smoking [Howe 1984] Fortune survey: 26% of women under 40 smoke vs. 66% of men (30-40% of young women in cities) [Borden 1942]

- PHILIP MORRIS ads in New York State Journal of Medicine claim their moistening agent (di-ethylene glycol - now used as anti-freeze) less irritating than others (glycerine or none) and cite a study which blamed cigarettes as cause of irritation in the first place. [Blum 1983]

- CAMEL hires Benny Goodman for "Let's Dance," which became CAMEL Caravan, half hour prime time [Levine 1970]

- (approximate date) Hill, LUCKY STRIKE. hires Walter Winchell for News broadcasts. Uses 45,000 billboards in 18,886 communities to announce this. [Bernays 1965]

- Radio works well. Trade published analysis shows correlation for cigarette between use of radio and relative sales. [Arnold 1935]

1936

- American Tobacco puts 75% of ad budget on LUCKY STRIKE, despite 500 item product line, because it contributes 65% of profit and is seen as an "expandable market." [Borden 1942]

- CHESTERFIELD sign Paul Whitman Orchestra for 2 years CBS radio [Advertising Age 1980]

1937

- PALL MALL launched by American Tobacco, term "King sized" coined. [Borden 1942]

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1938

- OLD GOLD hires Artie Shaw for Radio [Lewine 1970]

- CHESTERFIELD signs Glenn Miller and Andrew Sisters for Radio show, CBS [Advertising Age 1980]

- CAMEL spending over $15 million, "massive investment" [Jones 1986]

- CAMEL uses sportsmen, adventurers with CAMELS renewing vitality, steadying nerves and "get a lift", "healthy nerves" "a flow of energy" "relief from fatigue", "better digestion" and "seeming" to restore energy. High Starch scores (readership). [Pease 1958] [Note: This shows cigarette firm's use of copy testing research tools.]

- Consumer Reports publishes study reporting "little difference perceptible between the various brands" and calling the ads "generally misleading, often false, and most of the time laughable." [Brecher 1963]

1939

-top 5 firms' media mix: about 25% magazines, 25% radio, 50% newspapers. CHESTERFIELD mix very close to this, on known budget of over $8 million. Harvard's Borden estimates actual promotional dollars spent would likely double these known traceable amounts. [Borden 1942, p231]

- Big three share down to 67%, due to growth of premium PHILIP MORRIS and longer "king sized" PALL MALL, dime brands. [Borden 1942] [NOTE: this is a standard pettern of market segmentation with market maturation]

- Will Rogers describes lawyers and politicians as people who spend a lifetime juggling with words with "not an idea in a carload," mocking OLD GOLD's "not a cough in a carload" campaign.

1940

- "The years 1925-40 saw a tremendous growth in advertising nationwide..the Company's (RJReynolds) expenditures and those of its of its major rivals were extraordinary, reflecting the apparent agreement on the necessity of large scale advertising to fuel expansion." Big 3 spend over 40 million a year in 1935 to 1939 -(data from R.J.R. Tob. Co. et al v. U.S., Brief for Appellants, docket no. 9139 (6th Cir., 1944), p205.- cited in Tilley 1985, RJReynolds Company historian)

- ads now in almost all middle class womens' magazines. eg. McCalls, Ladies's Home Journal, Better Homes and Gardens as well as Life, Time, newspapers, billboards etc.

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- 26% of adult women smokers [Howe 1984]

- Radio usage:

LUCKY STRIKE, tobacco auctioneers, chant..."Sold American"... LS/MFT
PHILIP MORRIS: Grofe' music: clop, clop-clop Grand Canyon Suite ... ex New Yorker hotel page boy midget, (actual New York midget Johnny Roventini - Sobel 1978, Lewine 1970) "Call for PHILIP MORRIS", on radio shows like Edgar Bergen & Charlie McCarthy, PHILIP MORRIS Playhouse.
CAMEL - daily programs, "Camel Caravan" run throughout 1930s
CHESTERFIELD spends $2.4 million on radio alone
RALEIGH - 70 promotional references in one hour show for the "Raleigh review in the RALEIGH theatre with the RALEIGH orchestra and the RALEIGH Rover singers. [Fox 1984]

- CAMEL claims. Using a variety of themes, mixing them in various ways for multiple claim ads throughout the 1930s. Dates of first appearances:

25 June 1933 "Healthy Nerves"
28 May 1934 "Get a Lift with a CAMEL"
6 May 1935 "They Don't Get Your Wind"
20 Jan 1936 "For Digestion's Sake"
7 Feb 1938 "Camels Agree with Me"

[Tilley 1985, p338]

1941

- CHESTERFIELD seen as "higher toned, more muted and subdued" [Parker 1966]

- Miss America (Rosemary LaPlanche) appears in ads on Billboards, car cards, store displays for CHESTERFIELD. [Advertising Age 1980, p28]

- LUCKY STRIKE uses sexual innuendo: "So Round, so firm so fully packed...." Lasker paid copywriter a $10,000 bonus for this. [Advertising Age, 1952]

- CAMELS starts in New York medical journals, every issue whole decade. Starts with men in white coats, and claim that slow burning produced less nicotine. Also use "attractive" detail women to give free samples for waiting rooms, free cartons to Drs. Also mounts exhibits at Medical conventions. [Blum 1983]

- First of annual Wootten analyses of industry. States industry is "glowing testimonial to the power of advertising..these firms have not only out spent but also have out earned any others..tobacco tycoons ..are loudest in their praise for the part advertising has played." [Wootten 1941]

- LUCKY STRIKE sponsors shows including Jack Benny, who pioneered the

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integration of show and commercial, Kay Kayser musical quiz show, Hit Parade, where Frank Sinatra had first debut to squealing teens. (cf. Beatles for KENT on Ed Sullivan) Sinatra quit LUCKY STRIKE to work for competitor but later returned. Jack Benny had earlier worked for CAMELS and later for PALL MALLS. [Cone 1969]

1942

- 1939-42 largest increase of women smokers, heaviest advertising and display of women smokers [Howe 1984]

- Cigarette firms, like other consumer goods manufacturers, doing a lot of market research. For example, OLD GOLD agency, J. Walter Thompson, did the following studies in 41-42 (partial list - available for scrutiny at J. Walter Thompson Archives, New York, New York: Reel 256: Summary of Info on % Smokers, Copy Tests, Survey Investigators Impressions, Tests of Knowledge of Change in OLD GOLD Blend, New York men and women interviewed at random, data of OLD GOLD vs competitive expenditures, dealer merchandising survey, cigarette advertising Recall, magazine readership study, Charts and maps for geographic breakdowns; (Reel 376) 16 city test of OLD GOLD ad recognition, trends in buying, Manhattan Dealer survey, Trends in Consumer Buying, Survey of Radio Listening, Survey of sales at Colleges, Copy Reaction in three cities, Survey of Dealers in 32 Colleges. tests of effects of Reader's Digest article, remembrance check on "Apple" campaign, repeat among college students, report by Crossley on New York City youth interests in radio programs, and research plan to deepen this knowledge, analysis of influence of magazine ads using J. Walter Thompson advertising agency consumer panel, survey of sales in Negro neighborhoods, survey of radio listening for "boys and girls", recognition on latakia (a type of tobacco used in OLD GOLDS), radio preferences among Teenage Boys and Girls, etc.,etc.

- "LUCKY STRIKE Green has gone to War" implication of military need. [in newspapers and radio, not national magazines] All Companies give away cigarettes, or sell cheap (3 for price of 1) to soldiers, VA hospitals, etc. [Sobel 1978].

- LUCKY STRIKE Green goes to war" was solution to long standing desire to revise package to make more attractive to women, and Raymond Loewy had been commissioned for new design. The "sacrifice" announcement was put into large type in newspaper and trumpeted on radio and became very contentious for months. "Newspapers screamed about it in their editorials. Pastors preached about it from their pulpits ... exploitation (of war emergency) to a degree not reached before." George Washington Hill of LUCKY STRIKE "enjoyed all the noise" and publicity. [Cone 1969]

- PHILIP MORRIS: "far less irritating--eminent medical authorities"

- CAMEL ad featuring "T-Zone" for 30 day throat test.

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Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/knbl0000

- Readers' Digest article exposes "fact and fiction" of cigarette ads with tar and nicotine data intended to demonstrate NO meaningful differences. Finds CAMELS burn only 6% slower (vs. claim of 25%). Finds PHILIP MORRIS had the highest % of nicotine and second highest tar and resins of seven brands tested (vs. claims of other brands being "more than three times as irritant.") Notes that LUCKY STRIKE current claim of paying more also fallacious, as all cigarette makers pay more than averages of any and all tobacco, but that Department of Justice hearings found that the prices they all paid were "remarkably uniform." [Littell 1942]

1943

- in last year and this FTC complained about advertising of all major manufacturers. [see 1950 for notes on resolution years later]

- the FTC "suit against the company (RJReynolds) for false advertising... stated that, according to impartial scientific research, smoking CAMELS did not keep a person in good athletic condition; CAMELS were not made of tobacco more costly than that used in other cigarettes; Camels did not absorb the total supply of fine tobaccos produced; CAMELS did not burn 25 percent, or any percent, more slowly than other brands; and CAMELS did not contain 28 percent, or any percent, less nicotine than other brands." [Note: the corporate history contests only the point about "paying more," reaffirming that they paid more than American Tobacco from 1932-43. [Tilley 1985, p339]

- Fred Waring replaces Glenn Miller (off to Europe) and "CHESTERFIELD Supper Club" created. Theme: "Smoke Dreams." Paul Weston version big 1944 hit. [Lewine 1970, p78]

- LS/MFT, telegraphic code being established for LUCKY STRIKE on radio and in print with heavy repetition. Also still using "So round so form, so fully packed..."

- CHESTERFIELD goes to patriotic appeals with movie stars in war service, and 'Rosie the Riveter' type models.

1944

- OLD GOLD runs campaign based upon Reader's Digest study implying superiority ("No Other....") which a judge ultimately finds "a perversion..using the truth to cause the reader to believe exactly the opposite" of what intended by quoted authors. [Geller 1952, p151] Final judgement [1950] often cited in litigation regarding "deception through material omissions."-[Calfee 1985]

- American Tobacco et.al. vs. US charges unlawful conspiracy re: pricing,

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Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/knbl0000

lack of competition. Upheld in 1946. Data discredits LUCKY STRIKE claim of paying more for tobacco. [Nicholls 1949]

1945

- (perhaps begun in 1944, used in 1945) LUCKY STRIKE ad featuring art only, James Chapin painting of farmer inspecting tobacco leaf to the sun is run on full pages of every daily newspaper in US for five consecutive days. This pattern repeated soon thereafter. [Cone 1970]

- LUCKY STRIKE ad used in Starch standard recall testing as warm up because "familiarity and attractiveness..reassures the respondent." [Starch 1966, p21]

1946

- PHILIP MORRIS runs ads about an "ounce of prevention" with disclaimer regarding no curative powers.

- CHESTERFIELD starts ABC, Always Buy CHESTERFIELDS, with glamour models.

- LUCKY STRIKE total spending since launch (29 years) over a quarter Billion dollars, about $10 million per year average. [Parker 1966]

- Jan begins CAMELs "More Doctors smoke CAMELS..." campaign. On radio on "Abbott and Costello, and in Life, Time, Saturday Evening Post. Theme carried in body copy for years. Actual proportion never stated. [NOTE: The validity of the impression that a majority, or even many, doctors smoke Camels is uncertain, given inevitabale survey non-responses, non-smokers, no preferences, and split among all brands.]

1947

- a LUCKY STRIKE ad had appeared, with only minor modifications, in Colliers, Saturday Evening Post, Life, Time a total of 179 times since 1942, and was tested by Starch service 170 times. Heavy repetition and heavy testing. [Starch 1966, p40]

- LUCKY STRIKE tries a high toned "fine arts" approach using many original paintings of tobacco scenes and minimal copy, just repeat of LS/MFT.

- CAMEL in New York medical journal with campaign "experience is the best teacher" honoring medical discoverer. [Blum 1983] Same theme in popular magazines, but featuring variety of skills and adventures. Still references "More Doctors Smoke Camels... and T-Zone test."

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Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/knbl0000

1948

- Brown & Williamson launches 80mm LIFE brand intro to New York City with budget of a half million dollars for New York City alone. [Fortune 1953]

- Arthur Godfrey goes to TV on top of radio. CHESTERFIELD one of his "blue ribbon" sponsors of long standing. [Garver 1949]

1949

- PHILIP MORRIS claims "leading nose and throat specialists suggest..change to PM"

- CAMELS never name the "noted throat specialists" of their "30 day test" [Blum 1983]

1950

- during 1940s FTC complains against all makers at least once: [Dates of final resolution from Wegman 1966][see also Calfee,n38, p15 for legal refs]

First settled is PINEHURST (1945), required to cease and desist from claims of "soothing mouth, etc", "no irritation", less finger staining.

CAMELS [1952] found at fault for "aiding digestion", relieving fatigue, soothing the nerves. Found "false and misleading and, therefore, deceptive ... cease and desist.." (False testimonials paid for $1,000) [Reynolds disclaims responsibility with "We are not saying that CAMELs don't get your wind - the sportsmen said it." Clark 1943]

LUCKY STRIKE, for "Independent Tobacco Experts prefer 2 to 1" and claims regarding less acid, less nicotine, less irritating to throat. Investigation found "expert" testifiers not exclusive LUCKY STRIKE smokers, some never interviewed, most completely unfamiliar with the grades and qualities contained in LUCKIES, some not even smokers, etc. Found "misleading and deceptive." On Less acid, nicotine, FTC finds no appreciable difference and orders cease and desist. [Wegman 1966] For testimonials, 50 of 440 testifiers were not even smokers. [Wood 1958]

PALL MALL for length filtering to remove irritants

OLD GOLD [1952]- for claim of less Nicotine than other brands, actually trivial difference of 1/24th ounce over entire years smoking of a pack a day (eventually fined $40,000, less than one page of Time) [1950, "so grossly exaggerated as to be wholly without justification" - Wegman 1966]]

PHILIP MORRIS [1955]- for less irritating to upper respiratory because of moistening. Found "insufficient evidence", cease and desist ordered, but

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later dismissed when campaign already abandoned. [Wegman 1966]

CHESTERFIELD [1958] - "will not harm Nose-Throat" "MUCH Milder" ordered to cease and desist because of no showing that CHESTERFIELDS were in fact less irritating. [Wegman 1966]

KOOL - for "protection against colds."

All of these bogged down in process, delay tactics. For example, PHILIP MORRIS complaint first issued in 1942, ads forbid in 1952, but case not closed until 1955 (13 years later) when campaign finally stopped and charge dismissed (without penalties?). L&M (CHESTERFIELD) not closed until 1958. Conclusions reached long after campaign faded into history. Too little too late. [Brecher 1963] Dealing on a case by case basis rendered FTC practically impotent. Some settled by consent, some cease and desist, but no precedent to small variations, to new brands or to other manufacturers. [Fritschler 1969]

- nearly 40% adult women smokers [Howe 1984]

-By now "every cigarette company has jumped into television with both feet. CHESTERFIELD has 'Arthur Godfrey and Friends' and CHESTERFIELD Supper Club, with Perry Como, CAMEL has CAMEL News Caravan, the Ed Wynn show, and 'Man Against Crime.' OLD GOLDs are in big with the "Original Amateur Hour" and half of "Stop the Music.' PALL MALLS in there with 'The Big Story' and PHILIP MORRIS is in with 'Candid Camera." We've jumped in with [Robert Montgomery's] LUCKY STRIKE Theatre": BBD&O account executive, Robert Denove. LUCKY STRIKE telling "never a rough-puff" idea "seven days a week" on radio. Denove says, re illustration for magazines: "If it's not sexy, it's no good."(p6) Uses announcers who exhale and talk at same time. Dubs in phony smoke rings onto film (vs life) by optical printing. Hazards of live TV ads illustrated by Morey Amsterdam having a coughing fit while demonstrating CHESTERFIELD on Supper Club to show its mildness. [Whiteside 1954]

- LUCKY STRIKE Auctioneer, F. E. Boone, chants 600-700 words per minute. Works 5 1/2 seconds. Flies coast to coast to wherever the show is live just for this 5 1/2 seconds of work and flies home to Kentucky. Hasn't sold tobacco for 10 years, just doing Hit Parade, etc. [Whiteside 1954]

1952

- OLD GOLD - "For a Treat instead of a Treatment" "No other leading cigarette less irritating..conclusion established evidence by US Government." FTC objects to implied official endorsement. [Parker 1966]

- CHESTERFIELD runs "nose and throat not affected."

- Nov.: Printers' Ink reports later that Social Research Inc. doing

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Source: https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/knbl0000

motivation research into psychology of smokers. [Day 1955]

- KENT starts. [Sobel 1978] Uses one of the "heaviest introductory advertising campaigns in the industry's history." Filter is treated ASBESTOS on crepe paper. Others use cellulose acetate. [Fortune 1953] Very effective filter, but hard to draw and perhaps too effective - "like smoking through a mattress." Lorillard rushes to market, after being the last in with OLD GOLD after big three. Only other filters on market are VICEROY and PARLIAMENT (cotton filter).

1953

- CAMELS claims "there must be a reason" without ever clarifying what the reason must be. CHESTERFIELD now "much milder" but not clear 'than what.'

- Reader's Digest story, "Cancer by the Carton," gets wide reprints and discussion. Cigarette sales actually decline. [Sobel 1978] New York Times carries 12 health and cigarettes articles, 6 in December, and 21 more in first 3 months of 1954. [Wegman 1966, p712n]

- L&M brand introduced, starts in New York City. [Fortune 1953] Uses "miracle tip" and "just what the Doctor ordered."

- Fortune article calls industry attention to fact that too many campaigns are "riddled with warnings and appeals to fear" so that "the present cigarette turmoil could be considered an inside job" and the "industry may be promoting itself toward a dead end." [Fortune 1953] The two largest, Reynolds and American Tobacco, "avoided 'fear' advertising altogether, even for filter brands..the most aggressive exploiters of smoker's fears were the smaller actors." Fear campaigns declined sharply in summer and fall 1954. [Calfee 1985, p25]

- AMA Ban Puts Spotlight on Misuses of Medical Data in Advertising," [Printers' Ink 1953.] AMA magazines drop cigarettes and alcohol because "copy writers and advertising have shown a remarkable ingenuity to play on words cleverly and skillfully...this leads to a lot of medical mumbo-jumbo that harms the reader.." [Printers' Ink 1953, p48]

- National Better Business Bureau issues standards, but there is "no indication that advertisers will tone down copy claims to comply with it." The National Better Business Bureau comments that advertising industry "has been marred by the persistance of a few large advertisers in continuing to stress deceptive health claims.." Printers' Ink felt it probably had PHILIP MORRIS and KENT in mind. [Day 1953]

- PHILIP MORRIS stuns industry observers with ad for "The cigarette that takes the FEAR out of smoking." This is called by Business Week, a "strange somersault...The company comes as close as is possible to the word 'cancer'

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without actually using it...it talks about 'fear' and goes on the say that thanks to an ingredient PHILIP MORRIS uses (Di-G1 or di-ethylene glycol, now anti-freeze), this cigarette 'does not produce irritating vapors present in every other leading cigarette'...PHILIP MORRIS has already been slapped on the wrist by the FTC for its claims about Di-G1. An order was handed down last year but is not yet final. FTC told PHILIP MORRIS then to stop implying that Di-G1 is an important factor in reducing irritation from smoking, and to stop implied disparagement of other cigarettes." [Business Week 1953a]

- Business Week discussion of health scare notes that "cigarettes offer the classic case..of how a mass-production industry is built on advertising. Unfortunately, the cigarette companies achieved much of this remarkable result by screaming at the top of their lungs about nicotine, cigarette hangovers, smoker's cough, mildness and kindred subjects...from the early 1930s on, this meant one thing - sell health. [Business Week 1953b, p 66]

1954

- Tobacco Industry Research Council (TIRC) formed, but L&M boycotts. Formation of TIRC proclaimed in full page ads in 448 newspapers [Sobel 1978] [Seldin 1963] Jan 5 Headline: "A Frank Statement to Cigarette Smokers" questioned research findings, reminded smokers of "solace, relaxation, and enjoyment for mankind," pledges to sponsor "impartial" studies and to "let the results speak for themselves." "Newspapers, fearful of offending cigarette advertising, have given full coverage to the industry's statements" (i.e. carrying press releases and PR in addition to paid pages). [Wegman 1966, 683]

- Hill and Knowlton advise Tobacco Industry Research Council of 350,000 unit press run of 25 cent booklet by Donald G. Cooley entitled "Smoke without Fear" being published by TRUE magazine and Fawcett publications, to go on sale Sept. 6 across the country. Some "1,000 advance copies sent to city editors, science writers and other newsmen of leading daily newspapers throughout the country." [Hill papers, Wisconsin State Archives]

- June 15, Tobacco Industry Research Committee Press Conference, University Club, New York. Dr. Clarence Cook Little answer questions, and in response to first question alleges that tobacco..is "good therapy for many nervous people." and in reply to a follow up query "is there scientific evidence?" he says "There is reasonable evidence that it is a relaxer to some people. You know it probably yourself. It is common sense. I don't think you have to prove it statistically." [Hill paper, Wisconsin State Archives] [Note: some inconsistency regarding the burden and nature of proof asked of the Surgeon General compared to what is offered for this claim and other cigarette advertising claims to this date.]

VICEROY booth at conventions visited by 64,985 Doctors according to their ad. [Blum 1983]

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- PHILIP MORRIS doing in depth motivation research interviews to extract "social meanings, conflicted feelings, attitudes, perceptions, beliefs." Purpose to both guide strategy and to prime copy writers for copy writing with resonance in consumers mind. (Case reported in detail sounds like Rose: 25 yrs old, some post high school education, lower income (sec'y), living with mother of 45 with grammar school education) [Smith 1954, p213-220]

- KENT filter ads cite AMA study and touts filter as so safe that they are used in atomic energy plants, hospitals operating rooms, atomic submarines. Implied endorsement incurs wrath of American Medical Association as "outrageous example of commercial exploitation and ... reprehensible hucksterism." [Blum 1983] They publish editorial calling the ad "unauthorized and medically unethical use of the prestige and reputation of the AMA....strongly condemned. On the basis of one factor isolated from many, the P. Lorillard Co. blatantly implies..solves the health problems associated with cigarette smoking...ill-conceived and lacks factual medical support..a serious misrepresentation of the true status of health in relation to the smoking problem. Smokers who are mislead are likely to obtain a false sense of security without real protection." [AMA editorial 1954, p1108]

- Ad executive, President of own New York agency, notes: "The public did not get to read the AMA Journal and put its trust in the filters. It was also put under heavy sedation by the public relations program of the tobacco companies which effectively cushioned every piece of unfavorable news..with standardized rebuttals." [Seldin 1963, p122-123]

- The 'tar derby' of these years (and again in later 1950s) injured all - the firms racing and attacking each other, the supposed scientific "umps" - the ubiquitous "independent laboratories" whose credibility fell, and the spectators, the public, still risking cancer by the carton. [metaphor in Seldin 1963]

- A Poll by advertising trade magazine, TIDE, of 2,000 ad executives about 100 TV ads found that the top 7 most objectionable were cigarette spots. Comments include: OLD GOLD - "an oily attempt to be ethical";
LUCKY STRIKE - "insult my intelligence";
KENT - "pseudo-scientific mumbo-jumbo";
CAMEL - "exaggerated claims, with gross wording."
[Easy on the Drawback, TIME 1954]

- College students surveyed by research firm specializing in children. Cigarette companies spend $5 million on colleges per year, including the college radio network. Finds that young people are aware of differences in cigarette brands. "Continual exposure to advertising to adults though the different media has its effects on young people, although no studies have yet been made to determine the exact amount of this influence." PHILIP MORRIS Public Relations director, James Bowling said "the college age student..is more susceptible to change, has far reaching influence value, and is apt to

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retain brand habits for a longer period of time....The Max Schulman column (humorous soft sell in network of college newspaper) has produced the highest readership and sponsor identity of any advertising we have ever placed." [Gilbert 1957,p183-4]

- Sept. FTC's Bureau of Consultation notifies manufacturers of a new set of advertising guidelines, which would prohibit referring to anatomical parts, digestion, energy, or doctors (CAMEL). The press release accompanying guide: "no advertising should be used which refers to either the presence of absence of any physical effect of smoking." Prohibit tar and/or nicotine claims unless "established by competent scientific proof." These guideline become more formal in Sept. 1955 after a year of "conferences" with industry. Major impact: reverse burden of proof onto manufacturers to prove claims, rather than FTC to show invalidity, but this perhaps not easily enforceable. [Calfee 1985]

1955

- Sales rebound upward, following easing of tar derby. [Calfee 1985]

- WINSTON launch with advertising budget $15 million. [Tilley 1985]

- Congressman Blatnik reflects later on this period: "as new scientific groups released new and more damaging findings on the connection between health and nicotine and tar in cigarettes, tobacco advertising became more and more extreme in its claims." Cites L&M "'pure, white, Miracle Tip.. much more flavor, much less nicotine.' The obvious question is, of course, 'Less than what?'" [Blatnik 1958]

- [date approx. "some years ago" in 1962] New Yorker rejecting most cigarette advertising not because object to smoking, but because of insupportable medical claims. Rejected $150,000 (half million of today's $) worth of KENT business when its Advertising Acceptance Committee insisted that "proof" be changed to "evidence." The offending advertising was thrown from the 17th floor of the West 43rd Street offices in a dramatic gesture. (Earlier, in 1920s, they also rejected Hill's 'Reach for a lucky instead of a sweet.")[Gossage 1986]

- Jan: MARLBORO relaunched and national roll out begun, but not finished until 1960. [Glatzer 1970] [Was a female cigarette with "beauty tip" with less than 1/4 of 1% share. Many claim credit for idea to make the brand MALE with tattoo, simple military insignia, and also for the later enduring cowboy focus.] MARLBORO research proudly described in trade press (Weissman 1955). Begun in 1953 with "largest national sample of smokers ever used", 10,000 by Elmo Roper. In 1954 another study by Home Testing Institute among 5,000 member panel. Experiment with over 100 filtering materials. Two leading designers work on package designs. Screened "several hundred designs" to narrow to 20. These submitted to Color Research Institute for technical

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ocular measurements, visibility and legibility ratings, and color evaluation. [Dichter claims 30 tested for ocular measurements, and then the highest eight put through "association tests" looking for masculine associations which disclosed, among other things, that logic does not play a major role in marketing cigarettes. [Cheskin 1967, p135] The leading ones consumer tested. Taste panels set up in labs, office, ad agency, factories. When small set remained, employed Psychometric Laboratory at US Testing Co. Field tested prototypes with "several thousand smokers" testing various combinations of boxes (hard vs soft, striped vs. solid red) and filters (recessed or not). Sept.'54: makes four product/package variations and test markets in Dallas, Rochester, Denver and Providence, with "intensive field interviews" as well as sales data to "pre-test our selling, promotion and advertising techniques." (Weissman 1955) Packaging research alone cost estimated at $150,000 [Lyon, Off Madison Avenue] [NOTE: MARLBORO today uses Leo Burnett, who have the largest agency research staff under one roof - 136, inc. 100 professionals, plus another 54 part time. They do focus group, depth interviews, tracking studies, new product introductions, lifestyle analysis, segmentation, copy development. [Honomichl 1984]]

- MARLBORO agency head, Leo Burnett, smokes two packs a day and requires all employee to smoke this brand because "there is no taste or aroma quite like that of bread and butter." [Glatzer 1970]

- Draper Daniels supervises MARLBORO account for Leo Burnett. From his biography: MARLBORO "was smoked mainly by women and some members of the Gay Crowd."..the success of VICEROY and modest sales of KENT taught them that "people wanted the reassurance of a filter but..to taste as like an unfiltered cigarette as possible."...in New York they run a give away newspaper ad: "Free Cigarettes at 100 Park Avenue [corporate headquarters]." Waiting lines ran four blocks and tied up office elevators all day. Spend $1.25 million in 3 months in New York, Chicago and LA alone. "Before we had time to produce any television spots, MARLBORO was in first place in filter cigarette sales in the New York market. (The first place it hit the top was Fire Island.)" (Daniels 1974, p243)

- PARLIAMENT, seeking a repositioning as more feminine, tested 600 subjects to reduce masculinity and raise femininity through package design. Word association shows masculine response 3 times as likely as feminine to "parliament." [Cheskin, p238ff]

- FTC, while explicitly tolerating all claims and illustrations relating solely to taste flavor, aroma or enjoyment, issues guides to prohibit health claims, direct of indirect 1] referring to physical effects or the absence thereof, 2] low in tar or nicotine unless established by competent scientific proof, 3] refers to nose, throats, b. digestive system, c. nerves, d. other anatomy, e. energy, 4] seeming medical approval of either brand or smoking in general, 5] sales comparisons unless current and reliable info 6. only testimonials genuine and reflect current opinion, 7] competitive disparagement. [Calfee 1985]

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- PARLIAMENT offers "extra margin" [of implied safety]. Shows sports involving danger: speedboat racing, parachuting, bobsledding, hockey and equates cigarette filter with helmets, goggles, life preservers, seat belts, etc. TV storyboard description of visuals of couple in dune buggy: "They laugh as they smoke, cut to her reacting; laughs as she takes in a deep, delicious drag on cigarettes, stay on her as she removes cigarette. Looks at filter with quiet approval, cut to him fast, he blows out smoke so you know he thinks PARLIAMENTS are great." [Whiteside 1975]

- "The creation of a brand image involves the manufacture and assembly of prepackaged elements of a sort of daydream - a set of visual and aural associations that will be launched from Madison Avenue into the minds of millions of actual and potential smokers, there to be kept orbiting incessantly around the periphery of consciousness." A MARLBORO executive is quoted as saying "The consumer who lights up the product - we've conditioned him." [Whiteside 1975, p22-23]

- Oct. 11. FTC writes to L&M expressing doubt about ad claims of "effective filtration" and "best filter" and "superior filtration" since product was fourth behind three other leading brands. These "do not appear to be warranted" [RC - 6020629] Timing and nature of response unknown.

- WINSTON sales triple after blitz campaign with ungrammatical "Winston tastes good like a cigarette should" gaining lots of free PR, even in schools as English teachers discuss grammar. [Sobel 1978] WINSTON later tries to repeat this with other ungrammatical copy.

- Consumer Reports finds KENT filter loosened since 1952, Nicotine up 4 Times, Tar up 6 times. [Brecher 1963] Public not told in ads.

- Printers' Ink states: "grim messages from the health scare days gave way to pleasant, almost 'Pollyanna' prose...The 1955 comeback ..(taught advertising to).. stick to cajoling the smoker with soft, 'gentle' phrases on oh-so-gay jingles." [Day 1955]

1956

- MARLBORO distributes "several million" tattoo transfers, run ads in trade press explaining tattoo [Advertising Age 1980]

- MARLBORO buys National Football League TV sponsorship. Holds for 12 years. [Glatzer 1970]

- [date?] MARLBORO hires Julie London to croon seductively "Filter Flavor, Flip-Top Box." According to Draper Daniels, "men drooled". [Daniels 1974]

- SALEM, the first filter-tipped menthol brand, gets an initial $2 million

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budget for launch activities. [Tilley 1985, p502]

1957

- Since 1955, Consumer Reports finds many filters loosened, yielding more tar and nicotine, including L&M. [Brecher 1963] This triggers another heat of the 'tar derby', with Consumer Reports doing monthly reports to update events. [Calfee 1986] L&M new "Modern Miracle Tip" has 70% more nicotine and 33% more tar than 2 years earlier. [Blatnik 1958]

- KENT now producing more tar and nicotine than Lorillard's unfiltered OLD GOLD. Not alone in this reversal, as Reynolds' filtered WINSTON also producing more tar and nicotine than unfiltered CAMEL. L&M also increasing in tar, etc. [Calfee 1985] HIT PARADE of American Tobacco contains more tar and nicotine than regular LUCKY STRIKE. PALL MALL, very popular, has "one of the highest tar and nicotine contents on the market." [Blatnik 1958, p48]

- VICEROY - a "thinking man's filter - smoking man's taste" discloses split between thinking and doing.

- [July 18-26] Congressional hearings re: "False and Misleading Advertising: Filter-tip Cigarettes," [House report # 1372] but the subcommittee eventually got reorganized out of existence. [Blatnik 1958]

- BBD&O resigns Readers' Digest $1.6 million account, after they publish July, August articles stating that filters are no healthier than regular cigarettes and sometimes less so - apparently because of conflict with American Tobacco account. [Fox 1984]

- Kent's "new" Micronite filter of "tiny natural fibers (ASBESTOS - Fortune 1963)) added to the cellulose acetate" gets big boost from Reader's Digest article "Wanted- and Available- Filter Tips that Really Work". Almost official endorsement - sales jumpy from 3.4 Bill to 15 Billion. Saves Lorillard. [Sobel 1978]

MOTIVATION RESEARCH ON SMOKER/SMOKING

- Pierre Martineau publishes one of the best of the motivation research books. Describing a typical MARLBORO ad he says "the significant meanings are coming from the illustration. The copy logic is strictly after-the-fact." [Martineau 1957, p18]

- Motivation research describes smokers/smoking as well recognized for its "badness" (health, fire, smell, habit forming). But of greater import are:
  1] Effectiveness; smoking to demonstrate energy, vigor, potency, activity, "busy and doing", for women: activity = freedom, worldliness,
  2] Oral sensation,
  3&4] identity - possessing a brand is an extension of self,

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5&8] poise as social prop and symbol of sociability,
6] reward for effort,
7] proof of daring for youngsters,
9] symbol of sophistication. Relaxation "only a fraction of the cause."

Existing brand images discriminated along dimensions of 1. masculine-feminine, 2. strong-mild, 3. economical-expensive, 4. ordinary-classy. People feel a close attachment to brands, and under challenge become defensive. People are indifferent to cigarette property claims, as product perceived as just tobacco and paper, but they are "really interested in the properties from a psychological point of view...Is it exotic?.,.rigidly masculine ... alleviate my health worries?" [Martineau 1957, p58ff] [Note: these symbolic properties are influenced by advertising.] "The psychological properties are "the best material for advertising themes and appeals, because they carry their own reassurance. They are emotional supports which have developed in American society to make smoking seem reasonable, justifiable, and highly desirable. They obviously cannot be thrown in people's faces in their bare essence: but when they are implied, when they are communicated, they are understandable and satisfying."...There are many ways (visually and symbolically) of "introducing masculinity on an implied, believable and unobjectionable basis." [Martineau 1957, p65]

- "No one is exactly certain what a cigarette tastes like as a taste." [Martineau 1957] (The term "taste" is vague, but perhaps valuable in this vagueness.)

- Dichter and the Institute for Motivational Research agrees that "the differences between the taste of different cigarette brands is much more imagined than real." (p345) and describes smoking as 1) Fun, carefree, whim of the moment, 2] a self-reward, 3] a conditioned reflex, providing 4] erotic sensitivity to the oral zone, and functioning as a 5] time indicator with "almost a psychotherapeutic effect", and 6] a (glowing, hence living) friend - with a cigarette I'm not alone anymore. [Note: 1936 CHESTERFIELD ad defined a cigarette: "With it you're never lonely. Without it you're never happy."] Also full of meaning in mythology and religion, offering mystery and magic, etc. etc. ad nauseam. [Dichter, 1964]

- L&M hires motivation research from Market Planning Corp and gets 222 page report exploring "attitudes and motivation" especially as possibly affected by published health reports. In May 9 before more Reader's Digest articles of July and August) does 750 2-hour "intensive depth interviews..supplemented by several personality tests [Rorschach, 'ideal friend' projection, figure drawing test with stories] aimed at uncovering deeper, persistent aspects of personality organization...independently analyzed by two clinical psychologists... (yielding) an immense compendium of detailed information on all factors relating to smoking habits and brand choice....(including) sub-conscious self-revelations apparent to their analysts working with the depth

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interviews." [MARPLAN 1957, p1-2] "to understand the needs, predispositions and resistances that exist in people's minds..to find the appeals most apt to move them to purchase...consumers are often not fully aware of the real reasons...research..must get below (the) surface responses.

Finds smokers compared to non-smokers to be "less inhibited..more able to indulge their pleasure impulses...more optimistic, trusting attitude toward life....more dependent upon and sensitive to the social environment. ...sensitive to trends...more concerned with social status and success. ... in considerable conflict about smoking...(the majority) wished they could stop smoking. (p11 and following, underlines in original)... all (smokers) agree that smoking "doesn't do you any good"..It makes you cough, makes you short of breath, makes you "feel awful" in the morning, dirties ash trays, stains teeth, makes clothes smell, burns holes in clothes, etc....With few exceptions, smokers expressed the earnest desire that their children NEVER smoke, especially their daughters.... But the threat (to sales) is considerably less serious than it would appear....few smokers will actually give up smoking...(for the average smoker is) afraid to give up smoking. Many describe feelings of panic, inability to think, coordinate or function normally without cigarettes....afraid he would not be able to cope with life." (emphasis in original, p15-17]

- Under "latent of underlying reasons" reports "compromise is the keynote to his [CHESTERFIELD smoker's] personality...Conformity to the social blueprint is one of his highest values...a 'mild' person....(with need for status..attracted to symbols...[of] status, elevation and dignity....inclined to be unsure of his feelings. He is very suggestible...The female [has] a certain naivete', self-centeredness and emotional immaturity....The CHESTERFIELD brand image satisfies her need to feel urbane and sophisticated. [Market Planning Corp. report, RC-6024096 to 99; emphasis in original]

- "Cigarettes represent a product field where motivation research was expected to be particularly fruitful. (Past research and blindfold test show that) consumers cannot tell their own favorite brands from others..yet considerable brand loyalty exists...motivated by underlying forces of which even the smoker himself may be only dimly aware....[hence research to] dig below the surface of rationalized explanations. [Market Planning Corp., p210, RC - 6024212, emphasis in original]

- Rationalizations noted regarding health in order of emphasis: [p29]

1. I'm OK. No problems yet, so I'm exempt
2. I just dabble: A problem only if smoke 2 packs a day or more
3. I have to die sometime. Autos are even more dangerous.
4. My doctor didn't tell me to stop. My doctor smokes, etc
5. I refuse to worry. Its not my nature to worry.
6. I'll take my chances. It hits only a few,
7. I'm young yet. Someday I'll worry about it.

"CHESTERFIELD smoker is attracted to symbols and objects that dovetail with

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his need for status, elevation, dignity.[p94]".....the female is much like the male (but also) has a strong proneness toward irrational fear and a certain amount of hypochondria...Thus, the mildness associated with CHESTERFIELD is a strong positive attraction for her."(p95) [NOTE: this displays knowledge that "mildness" is a health relevant communication to consumers.]

[ALL above MARPLAN for L&M 1957, CONFIDENTIAL,RC-6024000 and ff]

1958

- Leo Burnett takes 3 page ad in New Yorker explaining the MARLBORO success story. Comments on Elmo Ropers research identifying the old brand image as "sissy" and all filter cigarettes as "effeminate." Notes that the ads broke first in New York, Chicago and LA. Felt (wrongly) that "obviously we couldn't keep on showing cowboys forever" and showed other "regular guys" who typified "masculine confidence" all with tattoos. Claims "MARLBORO has one of America's most effective filters." Admits: "Those who do smoke do so for various conscious or unconscious reasons... Marlboro is made for them." "..a cigarette is your most frequently exposed possession. Every time you expose it, it says something about you." [Burnett 1958, p43]

- CHESTERFIELD (finally) prohibited from false or misleading claim "no adverse effect upon the nose, throat or accessory organs." [55 FTC 354: Liggett & Meyers Dockett 6077]

- Head of congressional committee, later reorganized out of existence, writes expose in Harpers saying that the FTC "has been doing an inadequate job." After a "storm of complaints" about a PARLIAMENT campaign featuring the "United States Testing Company's seal of approval," which looked like official US Government endorsement despite being private agency, the FTC remained inactive for more than three months because "the company had contract commitments" with media, ignoring ease of revisions to copy. Acknowledges that the FTC is "largely hamstrung...(without) the right to obtain a court injunction against tobacco products, as it does against food, drugs, devices and cosmetics. [Blatnik 1958, p47]

- June 1958, Six companies simultaneously claiming the lowest tar content on the market. [Blatnik 1958]

- PHILIP MORRIS running comic strip, "Duke Handy" in Boston Sunday Globe, and presumably elsewhere as well. [Blatnik 1958]

- "U.S. Public Health Service has not a single movie, slide film, or booklet on cigarette smoking." [Blatnik 1958, 49]

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1959

- Feb 17: Tobacco Institute considers ads for full page in Look, Saturday Evening Post, Life, U.S.News and World Report, Newsweek, Time and Farm Journal. [T13852] They consider and pretest lots of ads over the years, and run some, but most of the available subpoenaed record is about the ads rejected by pretesting. [NOTE: It seems unusual to keep records for aborted plans, but not for actual implemented activities, with nothing at all forthcoming on press releases, public speaking engagements, etc.]

- Art directors commenting on cigarette ads note importance of: "personality," consistency across campaign and time, pictures without words (dominance of photos), and emotionality. "Exaggerated, off beat, not-quite-true claims are certainly easier to illustrate than those which stick to the narrower path of truth." [NOTE: how known?] "TV Picture ideally should convey the product's identity (personality) even in the absence of words." [Strosahl 1959]

- LIFE brand (see endnote regarding this sort of brand name) brings FTC complaint regarding apparent official endorsement of data "on file with the US Government," assertions that the cigarettes were lower in tar and nicotine than other filters, and pictorial demonstrations showing filter retention of ALL tars and nicotine (false demo). Ordered by FTC (91960) cease and desist. [Wegman 1966] Agency: Ted Bates Agency, Rosser Reeves, President, who publicly defends false ad with an 'ends justify the means' argument.

- Even MARLBORO, for a while, claims 22% less tars, 34% less nicotine (but less than what?)

- Arthur Godfrey show dropped by Lorillard after he says smoking made him feel bad. Magazines pressured re: Bantron (aid to quitting) ads. [Fox 1984]

- testimony re: cigarette co. influence on TV programming to Attorney General and FCC: VP of Ted Bates, Richard Pinkham - Two tobacco companies with similar programs issued "tobacco policy" for each show. One was filter, one non-filter. Each required hero to smoke marketed version, villains to smoke the other. "It sounds ridiculous, but its not at all." VP Clyne of McCann Erikson, spending $100 million per year on radio and TV - "very few cases where it has been necessary to exercise a veto, because the producers involved and the writers involved are normally pretty well aware of what might not be acceptable." RJReynolds controlled some newscasts, NBC CAMEL News Caravan, with John Cameron Swayze, with a "gentlemen's agreement" to avoid shots of famous people with cigars - except for Winston Churchill. [Barnouw 1978]

- The importance and value of TV jingles understood by Advertising Agency Magazine stating: "Most people are emotional (and) ... aren't governed by facts....The jingle is a play on emotions, not an appeal to logic ... and the jingle works by suggestion, association, repetition - not by proof."

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[Bellaire 1959]

- Printers' Ink notes that "the heat of ad claims" reached a new high as did sales, producing much consumer confusion. "Whatever the respective validity of each claim, the consumer has no way of sifting them." [Printers' Ink 1959, p26] [Note: this is still true for NOW vs. CARLTON.]

- During 1950s profitability fine despite cancer scare, as "savings on the tobacco more than offsets the cost of the filter. Less obvious to the smoker, perhaps, filters sometimes use cheaper grades of leaf, which have a stronger taste...and (makers) use parts of the tobacco leaf that once were considered waste." [Fortune 1963][also Miles 1982, p100]

1960

- "Tar Derby" called off after secret closed door negotiations between industry and FTC creating a "voluntary" ban on tar and/or nicotine claims [Calfee 1986] with explicit claims replaced by "radiantly healthy couples strolling among waterfalls", more subtle, probably more effective, and less reminding of the 'health scare and problem.' [Brecher 1963] Tar and/or nicotine claims require epidemiological evidence, i.e. long term studies [Calfee 1987] [Note: industry gains, and had good reason to anticipate this, given both theory and the 1955 sales recovery.]

- Printers' Ink: "Completely erased, at the 'urging' of the Federal Trade Commission, are the box scores on tar and nicotine. Once more the industry is back to its traditional and usually successful course - advertising flavor, taste and pleasure against a backdrop of beaches, ski slopes and languid lakes. It is a formula that works, as all time high sales show." [PI, 1960] Later FTC analysis notes how Printers' Ink qualifies 'urging', hinting at the eagerness of at least the largest manufacturers to agree with this. [Calfee 1985]

- These new ad styles (esp. MARLBORO with Julie London, etc) later described by catholic priest: "The sultry women's voice, the society setting, the rich, rough scion with the tattooed hair hands; the attitude of complacency and apparent lack of anxiety - isn't this the typical TV approach for much cigarette advertising? It is basically a narcotic dream with an inexcusable dosage of dishonesty." [Hurley 1963]

- Youthfulness of TV actors and messages alarms increasing proportion of population. Most regulation and political heat of the 1960s driven by this, and the thought that youth are an especially 'vulnerable audience' given inexperience, proclivity to treat themselves as immortal and not vulnerable to health risks, and highly responsive to popularity and sex role identity appeals.

1961

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